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1 April 1980

Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 12/80)



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IRAQ

COUNTRY PREPARING FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 25-31 Jan 80 pp 18-19

[Article: "After Discussions on National Assembly and Legislative Council Bills, Iraqis Are Preparing to Elect Their First Parliament After More Than 20 Years"]

[Text] The Iraqis are preparing to elect their first parliament in more than 20 years. This parliament is expected to hold its first session next November. The Iraqis recently completed their discussions on the national assembly bill and on the bill concerning the legislative council for the area of Iraqi Murdestan. They have expressed their observations on these bills in preparation for the promulgation of the bills in their final form.

Baghdad--Dispatch by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI Correspondent--The broad popular discussions which had started on the 5th of last December among the various groups of the people and among the the unionist and professional organizations (students, workers, judges, teachers, clergymen, agricultural engineers, lawyers, etc.) were concluded on the 16th of this month of January.

The national assembly bill and the bill on the legislative council for the self-rule area were the focal point of these discussions that preoccupied the people and state of Iraq throughout this period during which Iraq has known and actually engaged in a unique and distinguished democratic experience. For the first time in Iraq's history, a bill is presented for discussion by the people so that their opinion of the bill may become known, considering that the national assembly will definitely represent the people and their hopes and aspirations. Therefore, it is the people's right to express their opinion of the said bill before it takes effect so that they may amend, correct and express their view on every provision of the bill in order that the law may ultimately realize the people's wishes and aspirations through their representatives.

Those who have followed up, lived with and participated in the discussions have become aware of the importance of the phase upon which Iraq has embarked with its new action. It is a phase with an advanced qualitative formula of democratic action.

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There is no doubt that the extensive discussions have enriched the provisions, paragraphs and contents of the two bills and that this enrichment will contribute toward crystallizing the two bills in a manner more responsive to the need of the Iraqi people and of their revolution to realize further political, economic and social accomplishments.

The national assembly bill consists of 62 articles that define the council's structure and powers, its mode of work and the manner of its election. The bill on the legislative council for the self-rule area of Kurdistan consists of 61 articles that also define the council's structure and powers, the mode of its work and the manner of its election. The articles of both bills are greatly similar, with a slight difference in the text of some of them.

The most heavily discussed and debated articles have been the 13 articles of chapter one, chapter two and chapter three which define the number of the national assembly members, their immunities and rewards, the termination of membership and the conditions required of both the voter and the candidate, followed by (sections three and four) of chapter eight, i.e. articles 41 to 62. These articles define the method of election campaigning, the powers of the national assembly and the method of its convocation. The articles from 14 to 40 have been the subject of little discussion when compared to the other articles because they define the method of nomination, the date of election, the electoral districts, the election committees, the voter lists and the method of voting.

Glance on National Assembly Bill

Before talking about the discussions in which Dr Mundhir al-Shawi, the minister of justice, has participated to underline the significance of the discussions and the eagerness of the revolution leadership to give them the attention they deserve, we must cite some articles of the bill so as to learn the intellectual, political and social inclination of the bill which will be an embodiment of the revolution's thoughts and goals in the various spheres.

The national assembly consists of no less than 250 members (article one). The members are selected through free and direct general election by secret balloting (article two). A national assembly member represents the entire people of the Republic of Iraq (article three). Members of the Revolution Command Council will be members of the national assembly (article four). An assembly member may not be the chairman or member of the board of directors of a private or public sector company and may not conclude personally or through a middleman any contracts with the state or with legal status persons in his capacity as a contractor (article five). The assembly members shall not be questioned for the opinions they express or the facts they cite during their exercise of their function in the assembly.

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Article 13 stipulates that the voter must be an Iraqi who has completed 18 years of age and that whoever nominates himself for the national assembly membership must be an Iraqi by birth and must be the offspring of two Iraqi parents by birth or of an Iraqi father by birth and a mother who is the citizen of an Arab country. This candidate must also be over 25 years of age and must believe in the principles and goals of the 17-30 July national socialist revolution (article 13).

Article 41 points out that election campaigning is free within the bounds of the law. The state will shoulder the expenses and costs of propaganda and of the campaigning efforts of all the candidates (article 43). Article 44 states the following:

"Any candidate for national assembly membership who has received monies with the aim of influencing the outcome of the elections from any local circle hostile to the principles and goals of the 17-30 July national socialist revolution or from any foreign circle shall be subject to the penalty stipulated by article 156 of the penal code."

During the discussions in which the unions of lawyers and journalists, the federations of workers, students, clergymen and agricultural engineers and the various popular organizations in the various areas participated, the image of the new Iraq and Iraq's eagerness to realize a real popular democracy have become evident.

The meetings--by the testimony of all those who attended them directly in public halls or those who saw them on television screens that are found everywhere--have been characterized by alertness, by a spirit of high responsibility and by real efforts to help the discussions produce positive results that realize for the bill its comprehensive quality that reflects the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi people.

Clergymen Meeting

During the meeting held by the Ministry of Awqaf in al-Rabat Hall on the 13th of the current month of January and attended by the minister of justice and by a crowd of clergymen representing the various areas, a clergyman asked: How can a member representing a certain area represent the entire Iraqi people, as stated in article 3? The ministers of justice answered: "When a national assembly member discusses and approves laws, he exercises his role as an Iraqi and an Arab citizen. He should not proceed on the basis of a purely factional view because the idea of factionalism in our conduct is rejected."

Another clergyman asked: What is the role of the Revolution Command Council members in the national assembly? The minister of justice replied: "The Revolution Command Council members have all the rights and duties of the national assembly members." Some ulema demanded that article 6 (paragraph A) include them, i.e. that they combine membership of the

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national assembly with the positions they hold, considering that the state has honored clergymen and has turned them into civil servants. Dr al-Shawi answered that this proposal is the subject of discussion. Meanwhile, some clergymen objected to this point, stressing the need for the clergymen to steer clear of politics.

The meeting organized on 13 January by the General Federation of Iraqi Students (Baghdad branch) was also a model of responsible and alert discussions. A university professor who took part in the discussion asked: Why don't we realize for the bill its pan-Arab dimension on the basis of the party's pan-Arab principles and actions by giving an Arab who has acquired his Iraqi citizenship the right to nomination to the national assembly membership? The minister of justice said that the pan-Arab dimension is present in the bill, even though only to a certain limit due to the special character of the bill. The bill does not say that the right to nomination belongs solely to an Iraqi born to an Iraqi father only but states that this right also belongs to an Iraqi born to an Iraqi father and an Arab mother.

Answering another question on adopting political ostracism, the minister of justice said: "The bill has not adopted the method of political ostracism against certain individuals but has adopted political reservation to safeguard the revolution and its gains in this phase which requires greater awareness and responsibility."

Answering a question on restricting the right to combine the national assembly membership with another job to certain groups, such as ministers, journalists, information people and artists, the minister of justice said: "The bill has permitted combining the council membership with important job positions, such as artist, journalist, university professor and information people, because a certain education, certain thought and certain capability is found among these people. The state and the national assembly need these capabilities because they embody the nation's cadres, resources and thought that is committed to and interacting with the revolution's line and thought. With their actions, these people enrich the socialist thought. Their entry into the national assembly shall depend on the will of the masses. Their participation in the national assembly will be tantamount to honoring thought and creativity."

These are just examples of a transformation process required by a new phase in the life of the Iraqi revolution. It is a unique democratic experience that is expected to break away from [conventional] tradition to establish a distinctive tradition in Iraq.

Political observers here describe 1980 as "the year of the elections." They expect the national assembly's first session to convene on the first day of the coming month of November.

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It has been noticed that during the discussion of the bill, the officials stressed that there are equal chances for candidacy under the canopy of the neutrality of the executive agencies and of non-discrimination between a Ba'thist partisan and any other citizen "possessing the conditions of loyalty to the July 1968 revolution."

'Abd-al-Fattah Muhammad Amin, the Revolution Command Council member and the minister of local government, says in this regard that the people's will is the only thing that will raise candidates to the assembly, regardless of any other consideration, because the revolution wants the council to be a true mirror of the will of Iraqi voters.

Arrangements are currently underway to divide the governorates into electoral, provinces and districts, to prepare the balloting boxes and to prepare the election cards.

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IRAQ

SADDAM HUSAYN INTERVIEWED ON FOREIGN POLICY

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 1-7 Feb 80 pp 18-26

[Interview with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn by Walid Abu-Zahr; Saddam Husayn to AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI: "Alternative to al-Sadat Step Is Liberation of Palestine; Regarding America: We Are Not Against Dealing With Washington, But on Basis of Respecting Our Interests and Without Our Being Bridge for Its Interests; Regarding Soviet Union: Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan Is Serious Sign That Will Bring Harm to Soviets, Arabs and World; Regarding Iran: Iranians Must Respect Arab Nation and Must Not Interfere in Its Affairs or Think That Their Mission Is To Save It; Arab Friendship With Foreign Countries Must Not Turn Into Cover for Subservience; Regarding Lebanon: Our Describing Christians as Rightist and Isolationist Will Not Solve Lebanon's Problems"]

[Text] In my latest visit to Iraq, I carried my wish to interview President Saddam Husayn to Latif Nasif Jasim, the minister of information.

The minister was convinced, like me, that the conditions and the changes in the area justify the interview. However, he did not wish to make me a firm promise before consulting with the presidential office because he knows that Saddam Husayn's time does not belong to Saddam Husayn and that it is divided among his tasks and responsibilities that take of his efforts, thought and work enough to preclude taking away enough time for a press interview.

I was not disappointed. A few days later, I received a positive reply. Last Saturday night, I was heading from my hotel to the presidential office where an appointment had been set for 2130.

Baghdad was swimming in a blaze of light. The reflection of the lights was dancing on the surface of the Tigris and making the scene more brilliant, poetic and beautiful.

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Before I drown in the dream of Baghdad, I must hasten to say that poetry is no longer the sole commodity of the Iraqi capital. Baghdad now has more than poetry to offer its visitor these days.

During the day, the city is in constant activity. As extensive as it is, the city is turning gradually into a crowded and noisy city that reminds you of any modern capital. The streets are broad and the buildings are enormous and high. All the symbols of rapid progress and development are embodied here.

There is a general feeling among the Iraqis that they are enjoying stability for the first time in their history. There is no chaos and there are no centers of power as in Iran. There is no bloody conflict to divide the men in the street as in Turkey. Here, you do not hear of the middlemen's fees and commissions that have afflicted other rich developing countries. The assets of the rulers here are not in cold foreign banks. These assets are embodied in these rulers' race with time to build a strong and firmly founded state and to replace the dependent society by a dynamic, productive and open society.

There are hundreds of development and construction projects. The implementation of some has started while others have been partly implemented. Others have been completed and have started to yield production and income, securing work for thousands of people, not only Iraqis but Arabs also.

Yes, Arabs and hundreds of thousands of Egyptians in particular, without holding them obliged, without propaganda and without exploitation. In the Ba'th principle, the Arabs are like the Iraqis and Iraq is open to them without visa, work is available to them without permit and most of the income can be remitted to the relatives in the great homeland without restriction.

Arab nationalism is not a slogan here. It is applied in action and exercised in daily work. Not a single Iraqi official has answered al-Sadat who reviles Iraq to remind him that Iraq embraces the largest number of Egyptians working abroad. No official has asked these workers to send a single cable to denounce the official campaign launched in their country against a fraternal country. If the workers have done so, they have done it out of anger and out of their feeling of gratitude for the good deed of another part of the big homeland that is hosting them.

The year 1980 is the final year in the 1976-80 five-year plan. The plan expenditures this year are the largest of the kind in Iraq's modern history. The ordinary budget absorbs 3.65 billion dinars (\$11.7 billion). Moreover, the investments share is 5.24 billion dinars (\$16.9 billion). A total of 4 billion dinars (\$12.9 billion) have been allocated for imports. One half this sum has been allocated for importing the materials necessary for the development, service and construction projects, in addition to expanding the free services in the fields of education, health and family welfare.

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Every time I visit Iraq I feel that this Arab country has made another step on the path of building a modern state and a strong society. Every time I talk to an Iraqi official I feel the eagerness for Iraq to play its historical role at the pan-Arab level.

Every phase of building at home is a bridge that extends outward. There is the belief that Iraq will not be able to play this role if it does not build a modern state, a just society and a strong army.

Saddam Husayn is the hope of his revolution, party and people to lead Iraq toward undertaking the burdens of this role which is compatible with the country's position and capabilities and with the message of its party.

Saddam Husayn stepped into the 1970's as the leader of a revolution with both bitter and sweet experiences. Here he is today stepping into the 1980's as the statesman of a state with its hopes and aspirations. Perhaps history notes that few revolutionaries have succeeded in building states and few statesmen succeeded in turning into revolutionaries.

Would I be doing him justice when I describe him as the man of the 1980's in the Arab world? Perhaps so because the personality of Saddam Husayn cannot be painted within the framework of his small Iraqi homeland. As an Arab nationalist, he places himself at the level of his greater homeland and of his entire Arab nation.

Perhaps I would be doing him justice if I say that the aspiration for this role is not the embodiment of old Iraqi hopes to have Iraq as the alternative to this or that state in leading the Arabs or leading a certain axis. This aspiration stems from deep faith in the message of a party that has made its slogan the unity of its nation and that has devoted its struggle of tens of years to realize this slogan. Considering that the party is ruling Iraq now, then it is inevitable that it would try to implement this slogan.

The last phase of the 1970's witnessed initiatives at the pan-Arab level and Saddam Husayn played a prominent role in these initiatives. From a quick analysis of these initiatives, we find that Iraq launched them with full awareness of the Arab situation and with a full understanding of the potentials of this situation with all its positive and negative aspects.

Through this realistic approach toward the Arab conditions, Arab consensus was achieved in Baghdad over a minimum limit to isolate the al-Sadat regime.

Through this realistic approach toward the Arab conditions, the hand of the progressive and revolutionary Iraq extends to cooperate with traditional Arab regimes. There is nothing wrong with this and there is no desertion of principle or of message as long as the goal is to bolster the Arab nation's steadfastness in the face of all its alien enemies, both those coveting its land and those coveting its resources.

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Through this realistic approach toward the Arab conditions, Saddam Husayn's clear voice rises to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as strongly as it condemns the U.S. attempts to control the Arab destinies. In this, Iraq embodies the voice of the Arab conscience that is aligned with the supreme Arab interest alone.

Perhaps the interest of Saddam Husayn's Iraq in the nonalignment movement is not because Baghdad will host the nonaligned states summit in the first half of the 1980's but because Iraq wants to keep the long road from Bandung to Baghdad broad, wide and spacious enough for the movement of tens of countries of the developing world to express their independence, their freedom and their refusal to flock under the canopies of domination, be they eastern or western.

This is why Saddam Husayn has devoted a part of this time to revive this humane movement, to receive its leaders in Iraq and to advance material aid to its poor and needy countries. In this action, he is adopting and patronizing the line started by Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir with Nehru and Tito.

I believe I got carried away by my thoughts while on my way to the presidential office building.

At the office of friend Sabah Salman, the director of the presidential office for information affairs, we sit and wait. But our wait doesn't last long. At exactly the appointed time, we enter the president's office. He was standing in the salon with his tall and impressive figure. He shakes our hand in welcome. His flowing words disperse the official atmosphere gradually and you feel after a short time, and while he is answering your questions with utter frankness, that Saddam Husayn the statesman has regained his original identity: Saddam Husayn the revolutionary who never loses that expression of strong will that is reflected in the sparkle of his eyes and the tone of his voice and the revolutionary who has not lost the logic of realism which he has learned and polished through the experience of life, the revolution and of rule.

I then started my questions:

Conditional Optimism for 1980's

[Question] We are on the threshold of a new decade in this century. How does President Saddam Husayn view the 1980's?

[Answer] Our view is always optimistic because our confidence in our nation is great and because we look at the future from positions of aspiration filled with hope and determination to approach our goals and realize them.

Our view of the 1980's is not different from this. It is a view of optimism. It is, however, conditional optimism. We on our part will provide

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it with all the conditions. But not all the paths that we have to take are mobilized [opened] with our efforts alone. If it were so, the optimism would be unconditional. But when the matter is linked to the efforts of others in one way or another, we say that it is conditional optimism.

[Question] The Arabs have been able to isolate al-Sadat regime to a large degree. Does President Saddam Husayn think that the subsidiary Arab differences among the Baghdad summit countries have diminished the effectiveness of the isolation imposed on the Egyptian regime?

[Answer] When what is required is to mobilize the collective Arab effort in a certain direction, despite the particular characteristics [al-khususiyat] within this effort and despite the various colors that these characteristics assume as a result of the difference of the regimes and of their particular characteristics, it is certain that the primary and fundamental condition to make such a mobilization successful is not to have the party to be mobilized and the force to be mobilized preoccupied with subsidiary differences that affect the unity of the general direction that represents the acceptable limit of common national action.

The differences among the Arab countries, as well as other factors, are still affecting the movement of the general direction and the unity and seriousness of the mobilization to isolate the Egyptian regime, even though what has been achieved is beyond the expectations of the Arab nation and constitutes a relatively advanced position.

It is certain that the Arab differences affect the continuity of this position. But what exerts stronger influence--unless the sons of the Arab nation and the truly patriotic Arab rulers who are loyal to their nation become aware--is the other danger coming from the United States and countering the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

In our speech of 6 January, we rejected the Soviet intervention and described it as a new and serious condition in the international relations. The United States will try to exploit the Soviet intervention in the area to scare the regimes in the Middle East in order to restore the U.S. influence to the area, thus affecting the independence, and vital interests of the nation.

I must not conceal from you the fact that some Arab regimes do not have the requirements of intrinsic steadfastness. This is not due to their small size or to the meagerness of their resources but due primarily to the lack of the right will, the right conviction and the right approach toward the people. Such regimes will suffer a loss of balance, thus weakening the required state of being distinguished from the Egyptian regime, its position and its course. This is dangerous to the Arab nation.

Such a situation, if it produces results of the kind, will make many of the Arab regimes act on behalf of this or that international party.

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We do not want to discuss friendships because international friendships are a reality and are beneficial, when principled. However, we do not want to discuss here some of the faulty and even devious bases in the relations of some Arab regimes with this or that international side. But we will say that friendships must not turn under any circumstances into a cover for subservience and for acting in the area on behalf of this or that international side at the expense of the Arab nation's interests and of its principles of independence and liberation.

Alternative to al-Sadat Peace Is Liberation of Palestine

[Question] There are those who say that the Arabs must present a plan or a program as an alternative to the Camp David peace as long as they reject this peace. Does President Saddam Husayn support this opinion? If so, what precisely is the president's visualization of this program or alternative peace?

[Answer] If all those who ask this question offer half the efforts required of them, Palestine would be liberated.

The question itself, even though asked at times by simple sons of the Arab nation, seeks fundamentally to conceal the intentions that are certainly opposed to the nation's strategic goals.

The answer, as we see it, lies in liberating Palestine. There is no logic that requires us to say that Palestine has to be either liberated this year or we have to abandon it.

Instead of the bewildered question seeking an alternative to al-Sadat's steps, we must pose another question, namely: What is the way to liberate Palestine? The answer will then be clear.

As to what is the alternative to al-Sadat's step, I wonder: Has al-Sadat step become a model that is just a little short, a little underweight or a little misshapen so that we have to look for a comparatively better model than that of al-Sadat?

The condition of al-Sadat is a condition of descent and the alternative must be a condition of ascent. The condition of al-Sadat is a condition of treason and the alternative must be a condition of loyalty. Al-Sadat's action is the result of the decline and absence of the will and what is required is the presence and action of the will.

This is the alternative that we understand and visualize. But if what is meant by the alternative is a relative distinction from al-Sadat's step, we have no alternative that is relatively different from al-Sadat's action. We have an alternative that is totally opposed to it.

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Soviet Action Is Serious Sign

[Question] The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has generated deep reactions in the Arab and Islamic worlds. What should the Arabs and the Muslims do toward it?

[Answer] When we speak as Arabs with a single cause, we must take notice of all the international issues and not of just one aspect, dwelling on which may cause us to forget the other aspects.

When we discuss any issue, we must not forget to realize that there are in the world two powers and two basic polarization centers competing for influence. Each of the two powers has its interests outside its borders and each of them has its covers outside its borders. One of the two powers is led by the United States and the other by the Soviet Union.

But the world is not automatically divided between the two powers. There are independent countries. However, it is difficult to say that all the independent countries, especially in the third world, are not subject somewhat to the influence of either power or of both powers at the same time.

This is the state of the world. It is certain that total control [infiradiyah] by either of the two powers will bring the world a tragedy. I have neither the conviction nor the worry that any of the international powers competing in the world will gain sole control because history, even the history of divine religions, has not witnessed domination of the world by any single power or religion in any form of forceful expression, be it the form of divine faith or the form of interests and worldly beliefs.

Judaism has never at any time covered the entire globe, nor has this happened to either Christianity or Islam. So how can we imagine that worldly beliefs in today's world can cover the entire globe? We are not worried about this, even though we believe that sole control of the world by any power, be it either of the two powers to which we have referred or any power that may emerge in the future, will bring with it misery for the world. Therefore, it seems that one of the laws of life is that it balances itself constantly, both in terms of natural elements and creatures and in terms of politics. Yes, even in politics life balances itself one way or another.

When we declared our opinion with utter frankness on the Soviet action in Afghanistan, we did so because we consider this action a serious sign that will harm the Soviets themselves and will harm us in this area, in addition to harming the peoples of the world. The fear does not come from the Soviets alone, even though their action has entered the political dictionary as an example to be cited and compared and, for some, even to beware of.

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Thus, we can imagine the complications that the Soviet position will leave in the area and in the world generally. The other powers, led by the Americans, will use this position as a cover for their extensive intervention.

Consequently, we do not find it unlikely that the Americans will try to find a flexible approach in dealing with the Palestinian issue--an approach that may seem more advanced than the Camp David formula, but only relatively advanced and not fundamentally different in intentions and inclination. This means that it will not be a qualitatively advanced and different approach but just relatively advanced in terms of production, timing, form and step.

After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the conditions of many Arab regimes will be of a kind that makes an initiative of this sort tempting for them to pursue, thus harming the long-range goals and strategies of the Arab nation. A condition of this kind will inevitably constitute a serious development in the Arab position.

[Question] This is Iraq's opinion of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. So, can I conclude from this that some sort of change will develop in the Iraqi-Soviet relations?

[Answer] Insofar as we are concerned, we will not change the general directions of our relations with the Soviets because we did not build out relations on faulty bases in the first place. We deal with the Soviets as friends with whom we meet on certain goals or interests. But we have not forgotten that the Soviet Union is a major power. The biggest mistake committed by the Soviets in Afghanistan is that they have shown themselves as a major power in daily political dealings and not as a source of principled radiation, as they had been eager to show themselves in their actions and dealings with other countries of the world.

In fact, there is nothing to correct in our relations with the Soviet Union because our dealings with the Soviet Union have not made us act delusively on any of the national or pan-Arab issues.

[Question] We must say that we had normal relations with the former Afghani regime. After the Soviet intervention, we have kept our embassy and our ambassador in Afghanistan, even though the new regime has not asked to be recognized.

But generally, we are sympathetic to any people who struggle to reject foreign intervention and foreign occupation, wherever such people are. This is a firm principle of our party and of our struggle. As to how we apply this principle practically, such application is tied to a comprehensive view of all the area's conditions and of all the international political trends. Consequently, such application is tied to what we consider beneficial and suitable for our national interests and the Arab nation's interest.

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Clinging to National Will

[Question] What degree of danger is posed to the Arab countries and the Arab Gulf by the Soviet onrush in Central Asia?

[Answer] It is certain that the area's countries generally are small, that they import weaponry and that they have problems. Therefore, the area's countries generally can be affected or influenced by the major powers. The Soviet Union is one of these powers.

But what is important now is what the Arabs should do to avoid the influences of the major powers that seek to realize their interests at the expense of the Arab nation's interest and what the Arabs should do to deal with these powers in a healthy and legitimate manner and within the framework of serving the nation. For the Arab action to be healthy and to serve the nation, the political will through which the Arab rulers deal must be independent.

These rulers must also deal with their peoples on the basis of respect and of live interaction in representing the people's interests and inclinations, in doing good works and in eliminating all the aspects of exploitation and signs of corruption in the use of power and wealth. Without this, there is nothing to save these rulers from the ghost of international pursuit, as well as the ghost of pursuit by their people.

These principles are fit for all those who want to remain independent and to serve their people honorably and sincerely, beginning with Iraq and ending with the remotest Arab ruler and Arab country.

We, as you can see, are a small country by world standards. We are not a big country. Even though the Soviets are our friends, in light of the current principles of international friendship, we stated our clear and frank opinion when the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan. We stated our opinion without consulting anybody. We stated it on behalf of ourselves, in expression of our people's conscience and of their national and pan-Arab interests and on behalf of the Arab nation's conscience and creed, and not on behalf of any other side. When you see or examine the actions of some Arab rulers, you find that they either reject on behalf [of somebody], say incomprehensible things that reflect a state of weakness and opportunism or support this or that international side, fully disregarding the nation's interests and the principles of honor, independence and liberation.

The right path of independence is the path of creating a national will in the right direction and of expressing this will in the right direction also. The Arabs will be then respected by the Soviets, the Americans and every other force. Any force, regardless of how big, will also be then at the level of the Arabs [sic] and it will be possible for the nation to deal correctly, even with the United States.

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We are not absolutely and sternly opposed to dealing with the United States. Rather, we are for dealings established on the basis of respecting the Arab nation's interests, and without our becoming a bridge serving the United States of America in the area.

Let Iran Respect Arab Nation's Independence

[Question] Since the revolution in Iran, the Iraqi-Iranian relations have been rising and falling. What are your conditions for establishing true neighborly relations with Iran?

[Answer] Our conditions are that Iran respect the Arab nation, its sovereignty, its independence and its right to deal with life the way it wishes, that the Arab nation respect Iran in the light of the same principles and formulas and that the Iranians stop acting under the mistaken impression that they can save the Arab nation because the Arab nation can be saved by its sons alone.

It is possible for the Iranians, if they wish, to help the Arab nations to one degree or another. But there is no nation capable of saving Arab nation when it encounters a tribulation or when some of its sons lose their way--there is no nation other than the Arab nation itself and other than its sons capable of saving this nation, doing so with the spirit, principles, values and history of this nation. This is how the Arab nation's history has always been.

Under this cover [of saving Arab nation], and I say cover because such a faulty impression of the relationship with the Arab nation can be nothing other than a cover, some Iranians have wanted to provoke the Arab nation and to interfere in its internal affairs and, consequently, to harm it. When this happens, the Arab nation will answer this faulty impression and action with the stance and action that they deserve.

The Iranians must not fall under a wrong impression and imagine that a hypothetical or inevitable conflict must erupt between any true Islamic revolution and the concepts of the Arab revolution. This hypothesis and this inevitable expectation of a state of conflict or contradiction make the Iranians enemies of the Arab nation. This is our general visualization of the basis of a healthy and fundamental relationship between Iran and the Arab nation.

[Question] Mr President, how do you view the Iraqi-Turkish relations?

[Answer] The Iraqi-Turkish relations are good and there are no problems between Iraq and Turkey. They respect us, we respect them and there are mutual interests between the two countries for which we are eager.

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America Commits Horrible Mistake

[Question] What is your visualization of the Iraqi-American relations?

[Answer] Diplomatically, the relations are still severed. However, we acknowledge that the United States is one of two major powers in the world. This acknowledgement makes us assume and imagine realistically that the United States has its influence on international politics.

So, in a situation of this sort, diplomatic relations are supposed to exist between us and the United States in order that we may not be remote from the U.S. picture, movement and intentions in the world. But we believe that the position that we are adopting at present is the formula to which, we think, there is no alternative in order to make the United States understand firmly and clearly that it is committing a horrible mistake against the Arab nation, in dealing with the nation and siding with its enemies.

When the nation becomes capable and Iraq becomes capable of expressing its positions of protest against the U.S. actions in a different manner that guarantees the same goal and when our national and pan-Arab interests require us to restore the relationship with the United States, we will do so without any hesitation.

Before I ask him my next question, President Saddam Husayn invites me to have dinner with him.

The dinner table is in an adjacent room. There are various dishes prepared in the Iraqi style. The president asks with the concern of a father and a brother for his aides to have dinner with him. What is more, he does not even touch the food while waiting for them.

A bright smile covers his face every now and then but it is a smile that does not permit itself to turn into loud laughter that would diminish the dignity engulfing him and almost adding years to his age.

Amidst all this, you feel that he is close to your heart. He captivates you with the strength of his personality, with his simplicity and with the flow of his ideas. He inspires you as a leader worthy of trust, love and respect.

We Want to Keep Foreign Danger Away From Gulf

[Question] Do you believe that the Gulf situation has reached the point where it requires security coordination among its Arab states? If so, do you have a security coordination plan for the Arab Gulf area?

[Answer] We must distinguish between two cases in the issue of security coordination: The case of the relationship between our country and the

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area countries generally and the case of the relationship between our special agencies and the special agencies of the area's countries.

We are not among those who advocate the establishment of security coordination between our security agencies and any security agency in the area. We are a special case, even though we have common interests with the area's countries, especially the Arab countries.

If the coordination were for the purpose of defending the Arab nation, we would be ready to coordinate with any Arab country at the level of the agencies, the state and of foreign policy--but only when the coordination is meant to serve the Arab nation's struggle against the nation's enemies, namely the foreign, Zionist and imperialist aggressors.

But we must recognize that the security agencies in many, not to say all, Arab countries are agencies of oppression that deprive the Arab people of their freedom, dignity and rights to life. Closeness between our security agencies and these Arab agencies will harm our direction and will make the revolution incomprehensible to the Arab citizen. We have no coordination at this level because we don't want such coordination.

As for the state's behavior toward the brothers in the Arab Gulf countries with the aim of keeping foreigners out of this area, we have been saying for a long time that the fundamental condition for keeping the foreigner out of the area is the condition of our acting independently, of dealing with each other with a sincere fraternal spirit, of respecting the freedom of navigation in the Arab Gulf in accordance with international laws and of our steering clear off any bilateral conflicts that may be used as an inlet and as a cover for foreign influence to enter the area. This is what we believe in as regards our relations with the Arab countries.

Atom for Peaceful Purposes

[Question] There is clamor and confusion in the western press over the so-called "Iraqi attempt to produce an atomic bomb," especially in wake of the recent agreement with Brazil. I hope I am not posing a hard question when I ask: Is Iraq seeking to produce an atomic bomb?

[Answer] There is no difficulty in this question. Theoretically, dealing with the atom, including the aspect of dealing with it for military uses, has become a condition understood throughout the world. But practically, any state that wants to use the atom for military purposes must attain a special scientific and technological standard in all facets of the state and not just in the facet of dealing with the atom.

The other thing is that what is preoccupying us at present is to possess the expertise and capability to deal with the atom for peaceful purposes and in a manner that serves our nation, its independence and its renaissance. All of those who are creating the clamor concerning Iraq know that there

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is a big gap which Iraq has to bridge to reach the stage of using the atom for military purposes. They also know that Iraq's planning is not based on acquiring the atom for non-peaceful purposes at present and that Iraq wants to acquire the atom for the purpose of dealing with this sphere correctly and for the purpose of serving the nation's goals of building and independence. However, they want to deprive the Arab nation by denying Iraq the opportunity to possess the technological means of dealing with the atom correctly and capably.

[Question] This question brings us to another question, namely: What is your opinion of the introduction of nuclear weapons into the area and what is your position toward this issue?

[Answer] We consider the introduction of nuclear weapons into the area a harmful and extremely dangerous action. Our position in the United Nations has always been for denying the world generally the use of the atom for military purposes. We have supported in the United Nations the position of denying the Middle East area the use of the atom for military purposes.

Consequently, we raise in the United Nations the issue of depriving the Zionist entity of the capability to use the atom for military purposes. This is also why we are against the introduction of the atom to the area for military purposes.

Disagreement, But Not Interfighting, Is Permissible

[Question] I have a question pertaining to a purely domestic Iraqi issue. Will the national council that you intend to set up be a continuation of a previous phase or the beginning of a new phase in which popular democracy is entrenched? And will the opposition have a role in Iraq's parliamentary life?

[Answer] It is a continuation of the development that started earlier. At the same time, the council will constitute a new condition in the sense that it is a birth brought about by a continuing situation, but in new forms. As for the second part of the question, about our permitting opposition, every opposed opinion is permitted inside and outside the national council, provided that the starting points and the central principles of the revolution constitute the canopy under which all rally. Any opposition that rallies under a foreign canopy will not be permitted inside or outside the council. This is a general principle.

Disagreement, but not interfighting, is permitted for any opposition that keeps in sight the fundamental goal of serving the Arab nation. This is because opposition here means disagreement in the viewpoint of two or more sides, two or more persons or two or more positions. It also means serving Iraq and, consequently, the Arab nation in better ways and means making

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Iraq stronger, more prosperous, more capable and happier. It means ridding Iraq of the offensive aspects in its domestic, social and political life and enabling Iraq to serve the Arab nation more effectively and precisely. Such disagreement is, as I have already pointed out, permissible and necessary and we want it because it is a disagreement imposed by survival of the better.

As for the interfighting that creates in the national council or among the people's ranks a cover for the foreigner to infiltrate Iraq and the Arab nation, this is something that we will not permit inside or outside the national council.

This Is Way To Revive Nonaligned Movement

[Question] In the wake of the departure of the leaders of the nonaligned bloc, such as Nehru and 'Abd-al-Nasir, the position of this bloc in international politics has been shaken from Bandung to Baghdad. Does President Saddam Husayn see a way to revive and strengthen the principle and policy of nonalignment?

[Answer] The need for and importance of the nonaligned movement emerged as a result of the struggle for domination among the international powers. The third world countries were one of the main arenas of struggle. When the major powers resume their sharp conflicts and when the intensification takes a different and more serious form, the importance of reviving the genuine and original spirit of the nonalignment movement under these conditions is reconfirmed.

We believe that since it was formed and since the Bandung conference, the nonalignment movement has had and continues to have a role in international politics--a role which the movement must perform more actively and precisely.

As we know, the nonalignment movement started with nonaligned parties. But under the present conditions, there are rival blocs within this movement, i.e. there are those who belong to the movement who are influenced by this or that world power. Consequently, the policies of the major powers have come to be entrusted in one way or another to states within the nonaligned movement. However, the opportunity is still available to rekindle the spirit of the nonalignment movement which existed in Bandung and to enable it to survive in forms more capable of influencing the international community and international politics. It is certain that the movement's next conference in Baghdad must see practical forms to reflect the movement's inclinations.

The most important element to strengthen the movement's inclination is the creation of serious cooperation among the nonaligned countries in the sphere of economic affairs, in addition to the spheres of political and cultural affairs.

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We believe that the movement has the opportunity to play a bigger role in world politics.

Lebanese Erred Against Themselves

[Question] Mr President, the hopes of a solution in Lebanon seem to be remote despite the issuance of numerous Arab and international resolutions. What is the solution that you deem fit to rescue Lebanon from its bloody tragedy?

[Answer] For the solution to become clear, we must first explain and understand the intricacies of Lebanon and understand Lebanon's weakness and strength. The causes of Lebanon's problem are that it is Arab and that it is adjacent to the Arab territory on which the Zionist is established. The causes also include its numerous religions, sects and nationalities and the fact that it was relatively ahead of the other Arab countries, or ahead of most of them, in many aspects--including its liberal parliamentary life. In these very points lies Lebanon's weakness. Moreover, Lebanon's strength is found in most of these points.

Primarily, had the sons of Lebanon been able to discern the fundamental and healthy way to put the elements of strength into action and to eliminate the weaknesses that afflicted these elements and caused them to have negative influences on the elements of strength in the Lebanese society and to exploit whatever is negative in the points to which we have referred to, thus pushing Lebanon to the furthest limits of weakness and disintegration [conditional sentence is incomplete]. Let us take the most important point in Lebanon's strength to find out how this point has been used as a point of weakness against Lebanon.

This point is Lebanon's Arabism. Lebanon's Arabism has been used as a way for entry into Lebanon of the negative Arab currents and influence, of the currents of partition, conflict and interfighting among the Arab states and of the currents acting on behalf of international currents.

After Palestine, Lebanon has thus come to pay the heavy price on behalf of the Arab nation as a reflection of the state of weakness afflicting this nation, as a sacrifice for revival and as a center to awaken the conscience of the nation's sons so that they may return to the original source without which the nation cannot rise intellectually, behaviorally and morally. Lebanon has been afflicted with all this because of the intricacies that we have mentioned.

Since our evaluation of the causes of the downfall of the Ramadan revolution, we have been accustomed to put the heaviest blame for the occurrence of such things on the shoulders of the citizens. Thus, we believe that the heaviest blame for the fall of the Ramadan revolution falls on the shoulders of the Iraqis, led by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, and not on the shoulders of imperialism and reaction. This is because we assume

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that imperialism and the evil black forces are present in all societies. But why should the citizens permit opening the internal doors for the black and evil forces to enter their homes? This is what has happened in Lebanon. The evil forces are present and its citizens opened the internal doors for the entry of the evil forces lying in wait at the outside fence or at home.

Thus, religious multiplicity under the canopy of a society that is supposed to be fraternal has turned into a state of weakness instead of being a state of strength and a good example for the Arab nation. Sectarian difference and the multiplicity of parties have also been turned into a state of sabotage instead of being a state of goodness and an example for the Arab nation, and so forth.

Considering that we place the main blame for the sin on the shoulders of the citizens, then we must also place the main burden in changing the conditions in Lebanon toward the better on Lebanon's citizens primarily. A part of this burden must also be placed on the shoulders of the sons of the Arab nation because Lebanon is a part of the Arab nation.

The most important point lies in our asking ourselves as Lebanese and Arabs: What do we want from Lebanon now and not what we want and wish for it? What is Lebanon enduring now and what weight can we place on it without letting it succumb and fall below the required Lebanon?

At present, there is in Lebanon generally an exercise in oneupmanship and there is a bid. The balanced Lebanese opinion has no influential leaders whereas those engaged in the oneupmanship have their leaders and those engaged in the bidding have their leaders. When serious reform is sought, we must be cognizant of and must pay attention to these serious and significant technical[sic] links.

There are in Lebanon at present people who advocate firmness. If this were a mere opinion, we would respect it. But it is part nonsense and part reflection of foreign influences. There are also those who advocate tolerance and permit tolerant action to the point of calling for the establishment of relations with the Zionist enemy. Foreign influences are behind both those and these.

The other point is that if we want to restore the unity of Lebanon's soil, sovereignty and people, we must proceed from the admission that the fault is present in all spheres and not just in one sphere and that deviation is present in all spheres and not just in one sphere. It will be natural then to realize that even though the fault and the deviation are present in all spheres, fronts, movements and blocs, they are not present by the same degree of seriousness and harm.

The other point that we should take into consideration is that the people's Lebanon is not found in one religion to the exclusion of others, in one

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sect to the exclusion of others or in one nationality to the exclusion of others. Like the Lebanon of sin, the people's Lebanon is found in all of them. We should not isolate the people along with the sinful center and should not (hold them responsible for the sin and for its consequences). We should not apply to the people the description we give some leaderships and some devious leaders.

When some people use the characteristics of rightist and isolationist, it is as if they practically mean the majority of the Christian Lebanese. This path will not lead to a solution to Lebanon's situation. We must understand that there is a sin in the Christian Lebanese and in the Muslim Lebanese. But there are also people in the two sides. If conditions bearing a degree of the qualities of a healthy life were present, the overwhelming majority of the Christians would discover clearly the importance of the unity of Lebanon's soil, people and sovereignty. The same applies to all the Muslim sects. The same goes for the Arabs and for the other nationalities and minorities.

To crown this understanding, a healthy situation must develop in the dealings among the political forces and a healthy situation in the dealings between these forces on the one side and the people on the other and these forces on the one hand and the Lebanese government on the other. Only then will the government that we view as the government of all, and not the government of one faction to the exclusion of others, emerge.

This does not presume the equality of shares of the realization of full justice, as if we were among people and in a society living under completely healthy conditions. A stage of transformation from the current state of deterioration to the state of better existence must be accepted. Only then will we be able to overcome the abnormal conditions in Lebanon. This, briefly, is the solution that we view.

Reevaluation of Oil Production and Prices

[Question] Oil is considered the blood of the world industry. The fates have willed this wealth to exist in the Arab homeland, including Iraq. What is the policy that must be followed, Mr President, to protect this wealth, especially in this period?

[Answer] We must focus here on two points. The first is the position toward production, its volume and what should be produced and the second is consumption, its volume and what must or should be consumed. The issue of price falls between these two points.

We have been saying for a long time that production is not following the right course, i.e. it is not proceeding on the basis that this is a depletable resource. It is the right of the nation and of the people who produce this resource to benefit from it legitimately. At the same time,

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we see wasteful consumption by the consumers. If we consider a number of peoples, nations and states we would find that they consume tens of times more than other nations and peoples. Why?

This wealth, though constituting the national wealth of certain nations and peoples, is at the same time a human wealth because, as you have said, the fate of humanity is tied to it.

So, is it the right of some states to use this wealth wastefully and to the detriment of the general human interest? Is it the right of the American, French, West German and Japanese to use more than the Arab, Indian, African or Latin American and in a manner that harms and damages the present and the future of the latter? The negative answer to this question is certainly clear.

Therefore, the incorrect production and the unhealthy and wasteful consumption must be reevaluated. As for the issue of prices, we must take into consideration the real value of this commodity in comparison to other commodities. If the world believes that all commodities are measures on the basis of market and competition, then this commodity is supposed to take its normal course of market and competition.

If they say that this commodity is unique, then gold is unique and so is copper and so is iron. If they say that there are alternatives that can be used for iron, then we say that some of the uses of oil have their alternatives also. So why are the prices of gold, cotton and wheat measured and determined by the market whereas it is unpermissible to determine the prices of oil through the market and through free competition?

As for the Arab nation, it must use its oil in accordance with this view. The fundamental point is that while it is making this generation happy, the Arab nation must consider the right of the future generations to this wealth, not through the part of this wealth that it keeps treasured in the bowels of the earth, even though some necessities require this action, but--and this is more important--through offering the future generations a strong and technologically capable nation that occupies a proper and advanced place among the other nations. This is our visualization.

The clock had neared 0130. They were four hours during which I did not feel that Saddam Husayn got tired. He talked with a neutral flow that did not reach the point of long-windedness and with definite and frank precision, without any illusion. He did not "veto" any question and did not ask to see the questions before the interview, unlike many leaders and politicians.

I asked to be excused and the man shook my hand firmly in farewell. I departed, only to be embraced by the cool dawn breezes of Baghdad. The wakeful lights of the night were suppressing their slumber by bathing in

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the waters of the Tigris. The river waves moved gently and silently, dragging behind them the masses of water in the deep river toward the remote distance.

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IRAQ

SADDAM HUSAYN SPEAKS OUT ON AFGHANISTAN, IRAN

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 11-17 Jan 80 p 27

[Article: "Iraq: Signs of Danger Gathering in Area's Skies; Saddam Husayn Denounces Intervention in Afghanistan and Urges Iranian Leadership to Understand Arabs"]

[Text] Where does Iraq stand vis-a-vis what is happening in the area? What is its view of Afghanistan's and Iran's events? Perhaps Saddam Husayn has been foremost among the Arab leaders and presidents who have raised their voice to denounce the intervention in Iran [sic] and to point out the dangers this intervention poses to the area and to world peace.

Baghdad-Dispatch by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI Correspondent--Fifty-nine years have passed since the foundation of the Iraqi army. This anniversary is dear to the hearts of the Iraqis. No army's history and national record have been tied to an army's country, homeland and nation as closely as the history and national record of the Iraqi army, even though there have been eras under colonialism and after independence in which attempts were made to divert this army from its path, course and task and to change its faith in its Arabism. However, all these attempts failed and the Iraqi army has continued to be Arab in heart, arm, tongue and weapon.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn has not allowed this dear national occasion to be lost and has addressed to his nation a speech that deserves to be pondered at length because of the observations and ideas it contains--observations and ideas pertaining to the crux of the Iraqi policy and to the changes in the area.

The Iraqi President has revealed that the army and the people paid an exorbitant price to defeat the gang of retrogrades in the northern part of the country in the first half of the 1970's. He said that there were 60,000 casualties, of which 16,000 were among members of the armed forces.

In his review of the rich record of the Iraqi army, it was inevitable that the Iraqi President would laud the Iraqi army's response to the call of duty of confronting Israel. The president pointed out in this regard that

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the Iraqi army was the only army to fight on both the Egyptian and Syrian fronts during the October war, that the Iraqi air force was the only Arab air force to make strikes against the occupied territories in 1967 and that the Iranian shah's threats did not prevent the Iraqi army from waging the war and protecting the honor and sovereignty of Damascus and of the Syrian territories in 1973.

The speech has also been an occasion for President Saddam Husayn to review the situation in the area. He has characterized this situation as having reached "an extremely serious phase, especially in the wake of the Iranian events and of what has happened in Afghanistan."

He has blamed Iran (for what has happened in Afghanistan) and has said that all this has given the United States an additional cover to interfere in the area and to threaten its freedom, sovereignty and resources.

Enormous Responsibilities and Duties

Saddam Husayn has not forgotten to underline the heavy responsibilities and duties shouldered by the Arabs under these conditions. He has asserted that the developments have confirmed the soundness of the course followed by Iraq--the course of liberation from any colonialist or foreign influence and of reliance on the intrinsic capabilities in defending the homeland.

The truth is that the Iraqis are full of confidence these days and that they enjoy stability, strength and security in an area pregnant with events and changes.

However, this fact has not prevented Saddam Husayn, thanks to his sensitive revolutionary awareness, from warning that the situation is not the same in other Arab areas and from pointing out that "the faulty and corrupt use of wealth leads to adverse results, corrupts societies, causes them to lose their genuine characteristics, exposes them to the dangers of degeneration and division and makes them a prey to the ambitions of others."

Saddam Husayn was even more frank and explicit when he went as far as saying that "there are corrupt and sectarian regimes that impose on their peoples modes of dealing remote from the spirit of Arabism and right and from the spirit of Islam. These regimes discriminate among the sons of the same people, impose on them opportunistic groups and subject the people to tyranny and oppression." He has urged these regimes to re-examine their conditions in a fundamental manner instead of making haphazardly accusations.

The Iraqi President has explained the "extremely sensitive and serious conditions in the area," saying that the conditions existing in Iran warn of various potentials and that the events in Afghanistan have come to further complicate the situation.

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He denounced the foreign intervention in Afghanistan, describing it as a serious phenomenon that cannot be justified or excused. "It is a wrong and unjustifiable act." He has also denounced the attempt to turn the area into an arena of rivalry between the major powers so that they may realize their ambitions and implement their strategic plans at the expense of the independence, sovereignty and security of the area's peoples.

Perhaps President Saddam Husayn has been foremost among the area's leaders and presidents in raising his voice to warn against acts of aggression, saying that the consequences of any such action will not be confined within the limits of this sensitive part of the world but will expose world peace and stability to danger.

Saddam Husayn has also underlined his viewpoint of the relations between Iraq and Iran, denouncing the position of hostility that some leaderships of the Iranian regime have taken toward Iraq since the outset and deploring the manner in which some Iranian opposition forces have misinterpreted the principles of the hospitality which Iraq accorded them when they were Iraq's hosts for long years.

He also denounced the conflicting positions of some of these forces that allowed themselves to heap accusations on the Iraqi regime because of the 1975 agreement with the shah which ended al-Barzani's rebellion in the north whereas these forces currently cling to this agreement now that they have attained power.

Saddam Husayn urged Iran's new rulers to build normal and healthy relations with Iraq and the Arab nation, to stop persecuting the nationalities [minorities] in Iran and to return the three Arab islands in the Gulf to their owners. He also urged "the officials in Iran to understand the nationalist revolutionary character of the revolutionary Arab national movement and to be its sincere and true friends."

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AID ADVANCED BY FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT FUND DISCUSSED

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 1-7 Feb 80 pp 47-48

[Interview with Dr 'Abd-al-Amir al-Anyari, Chairman of Board of Directors of Iraqi Foreign Development Fund, by Kamal Hasan Bakhit; "Twenty Five Arab and Foreign Countries Benefit From Iraqi Aid"]

[Text] In mid-1975, the Iraqi Revolution Command Council issued a decree establishing a fund to finance development projects in the Arab countries and developing countries with a capital of 50 million Iraqi dinars. In 1976, a decree was issued doubling the fund's capital. At the end of last year, the council issued another decree again doubling the fund's capital, thus bringing it up to 200 million dinars. During this period, the fund has advanced numerous loans for the implementation of many projects.

How does the Iraqi Foreign Development Fund operate, what are the projects that it has already financed and will finance and what about its plan for the new year?

Dr 'Abd-al-Amir al-Anyari, chairman of the fund's Board of Directors, has spoken to AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI about this in detail.

[Question] What are the reasons that motivated Iraq to establish the Foreign Development Fund?

[Answer] It was decided to set up this fund out of Iraq's faith in its pan-Arab message toward the Arab countries and for achieving economic integration among them and out of its humane faith in its message vis-a-vis the developing world peoples in particular and for the goal of providing them with the means of material prosperity and economic progress.

The fund advances aid in the form of long-term loans for implementing development projects and for conducting technical studies.

The fund's policy of advancing aid is based on four fundamental criteria. The first is Iraq's belief that Iraq's development is inseparable from the development of the other parts of the Arab homeland.

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The second is the criterion of aiding the developing countries to liberate themselves from the yoke of subservience to the economy of the capitalist and industrial countries.

The third is the belief that economic liberation of the developing countries helps their political liberation. Consequently, these countries will be able to support the rightful Arab causes, foremost of which is the Palestine cause, with the greatest degree of freedom.

The fourth criterion is that of underlining the unity, solidarity and cohesion of the OPEC countries and of foiling all the attempts made to break the ties of cooperation between the OPEC and the developing countries.

On the basis of these fundamental principles, Iraq started since the 1968 revolution to advance aid to the Arab and developing countries within the limits of its capabilities. With the relative increase in these capabilities as a result of the adjustment of oil prices, Iraq deemed it necessary to set up a specialized establishment to advance aid and to finance development projects. It was thus that the Iraqi Foreign Development Fund was set up.

Varied Aid Through Numerous Channels

[Question] Is all the Iraqi aid to the Arab countries channelled through this fund?

[Answer] Iraq's aid is not confined to the aid advanced by the fund which is specialized in financing the implementation of development projects in the beneficiary countries. Iraq also advances enormous direct aid to the Arab and developing countries in accordance with the Arab summit resolutions or in fulfillment of bilateral agreements with the aim of making up the deficit in the [balances of] payments of these countries, and so forth.

Iraq also advances to the developing countries other forms of aid represented in oil supply guarantees and in credit facilities to help them shoulder the costs of their oil imports.

There is a fourth sphere of aid represented in effective participation in the international and Arab development funds.

Added to this is the fact that Iraq has taken the initiative to propose the creation of an international fund to solve a basic problem in the developing world, namely the problem of improving the trade exchange conditions in favor of the developing countries.

This plan received the appreciation and support of the presidents and kings of the nonaligned countries when it was presented by President Saddam

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Husayn to the recent Havans conference. Last June, Iraq submitted the plan to OPEC officially and the organization's Council of Ministers decided to refer it to a special committee for study.

[Question] What are the conditions and specifications stipulated by the fund for financing the projects of the countries concerned?

[Answer] The only condition is that the project be vital and serving the development goals. In this respect, the fund does not make a distinction between development projects in the narrow sense and service projects, such as hospitals and schools.

On the basis of our private experience, we exert efforts to facilitate the conditions so that they may act as an instrument making it easy to spend on and complete a project. In most of our agreements, the interest rate charged has been small, ranging from 2.5 percent to 3 percent. The repayment period is long and ranges from 10 to 20 years.

For example, through the fund Iraq has advanced to the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) loans valued at \$300 million to implement projects within a number of years agreed upon by the two sides so that the fraternal country may know in advance the foreign financing that it will acquire from the fund.

We hope that this system will be followed with the other countries benefiting from the loans and aid of the Arab and other international development funds.

[Question] Can you cite to us examples of the aid and loans that the fund has advanced to Arab and developing countries?

[Answer] The projects that the fund has financed and numerous and varied-- agricultural, raw material and educational, road projects in Jordan, airports in North Yemen, textile and cotton ginning projects in Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Uganda and oil refineries in Somalia and others.

One Billion Dollar Commitments

[Question] What are the fund's total commitments since its foundation and until the present?

[Answer] The commitments have exceeded \$1 billion, more than one half of which were undertaken this year. These commitments are rising annually.

The fact is that this sum represents less than one half the total Iraqi aid to the developing countries. Moreover, Iraq's participation in the Arab and international development funds is considered a part added to the fund's capital.

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In this regard, we should note that the fund participates in financing joint Arab projects aimed at achieving Arab economic integration, such as the loans advanced to the Arab Potash Company in Jordan, the Jordanian Fertilizer Industries Company, the Iraqi-Somali Oil Refinery and the joint fishing company in Somalia.

[Question] And how about oil aid?

[Answer] Last June, Iraq took the initiative to compensate the developing countries with contracts to purchase Iraqi oil for all the oil price increases occurring from 1 June 1979 to the end of the year.

These facilities came in the form of interest-free loans which amounted to \$200 million and from which 12 countries benefited, including three Arab countries and nine Asian and African countries. These loans are to be repaid over a period of 20 years.

Iraq also supported OPEC's decision to increase the capital of its fund to \$4 billion.

What is more important than this is the plan to which I have referred and which was proposed by Iraq for the creation of an international fund in which the OPEC countries and the industrial countries participate to advance loans and grants to all countries with the aim of developing their local energy resources.

[Question] What is the number of countries benefiting from the Iraqi Foreign Development Fund and what are the projects that the fund will finance this year?

[Answer] There are 25 Arab, African and Asian countries that benefit from the fund's activities. We will channel our attention this year to advancing aid to the African countries as a living expression of Iraq's goal of bolstering the Arab-African relationship.

(Dr al-Anyari smiles and says:) This is the first interview to be published on the fund's aid because it is in our policy and our traditions not to publicize the aid we offer our brothers and our friends.

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DETAILS OF 1980 BUDGET REPORTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 8 Feb 80
p 312

[Unattributed Article: "Budget 1980: 23.6 Billion Dirhams"]

[Text] The finance bill for fiscal 1980 was promulgated in the royal decree of 31 December, 1979.

The general budget, in terms of income, was fixed at 21.7 billion dirhams (1 dirham = approximately 1.10 francs) and in terms of expenses at 23.6 billion dirhams. Taken with the subsidiary budgets (postal services, telecommunications and radio-television) and the special treasury accounts, Government funds present a total figure of 27 billion dirhams, in comparison with 29.8 billion in encumbrances: the anticipated deficit coming out to 2.8 billion dirhams.

Income is apportioned according to the statement below, in billions of dirhams:

Direct taxes	4.4
Customs taxes	3.0
Indirect taxes	5.3
Registration and stamp taxes	1.3
Income from property	0.1
Income from industrial concerns	0.9
Miscellaneous income	0.3
Loans	6.4
Total	21.7

In the direct taxes, the tax on professional profits is calculated to be 2.6 billion dirhams, and participation in national solidarity should bring in 0.3 billion. Customs receipts include 2.8 billion dirhams in import duties and 0.2 billion in export duties levied on ores.

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Among the indirect taxes, taxes on the turnover amount to 3.4 billion dirhams; the tobacco tax accounts for 0.8 billion and the tax on petroleum products for 0.6 billion.

Income from borrowing amounts to: 1) 5 billion dirhams forthcoming from international cooperation under the form of loans and 2) 1.4 billion from domestic borrowing and from equipment voucher income.

The anticipated expenses are apportioned at 12.7 billion dirhams for working expenses, 8.4 billion for investment outlay and 2.5 billion in national debt payments.

With respect to the working expenses, the largest allocations go to Education (3.5 billion), National Defense (2.6 billion), the Interior (1.6 billion) and Finances (1.6 billion).

The investment outlay (8.4 billion dirhams in payment credits) includes in addition a number of promissory credits against fiscal 1981 and the following years, totaling 8.7 billion dirhams. Taken overall, the largest allocations go to Equipment and Promotion, National Defense, Finances, Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, National Education and the training of administrative officers.

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BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL--Cooperation in the domain of energy: On 1 February Mr Moussa Saadi, minister of Energy and Mines, received Mr Carlos Jacyntho de Barros, ambassador of Brazil in Rabat. Their discussion dealt with the various aspects of cooperation existing between the two countries in the domains of energy and mining, as well as on the means of strengthening such cooperation, in particular through the exchange of information resulting from experiments in the development of new sources of energy. It was agreed that a Moroccan mission would travel to Brazil within the next month, to examine on location the results of Brazilian experimentation with alcohol produced from molasses manufactured by sugar mills to serve as a source of energy when mixed with gasoline. Obviously Morocco, with its many sugar mills--those already constructed and those in the planning stages--is highly interested in the Brazilian experiment. This mission will be the third one to go to Brazil. The two previous missions dealt with the cooperation in the areas of petroleum research and the production of synthetic fuel. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 8 Feb 80 p 312] 8117

END

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